



If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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## ORGANIZED LABOR AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION

The first trade unions formed by workers were looked upon by employers as "criminal" organizations. The "criminal" nature of trade unions consisted in their avowed aim to obtain better remuneration and shorter hours for their members. The trade unions, in their very origin, merely aimed, then, at *dealing* and *bargaining* with the employing class. No thought denoting a desire or aim to do away with the employing class has ever been entertained by any of the trade unions. In brief, social emancipation has never been the objective of the trade unions from the day of their inception down to our very present time.

True enough, an opposition movement, which became known as the Syndicalist movement, arose in the late 90's. This movement openly declared as its objective: the deposition of the employing class as a means of attaining social emancipation. The syndicalist movement was strongest in France; there it actually supplanted the trade union movement. In so doing, it likewise discarded its original revolutionary objective and became an ordinary trade union bargaining organization. The same thing happened with the Syndicalist movement wherever it became numerically strong. And it could not have been otherwise. If one concedes that no social revolution can be made to order, then it is but logical to conclude that no organization is needed to bring about this Revolution. More often than not, any kind of organization proves itself to be a stumbling block in the path of any struggle for social emancipation. History abounds with examples that bear out this assertion. The Syndicalist Movement of France became the greatest detrimental force in the way of the social liberation of that country, just as the Communist Party of Russia has actually destroyed every vestige of the October revolution.

It is not the object of the present article to deal so much with the Syndicalist unions as it is to deal with those trade unions that spring up overnight and hold out promises of deliverance to the toiling masses only to bring disillusionment instead. We have in mind the rise of the C.I.O. in the United States.

The raging feud between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. is but an exact replica of the feud that raged once between the powerful Knights of Labor and the then erstwhile newly born A.F. of L.

The A.F. of L., too, was looked upon by the employing class with the same fear and consternation that was witnessed at the birth of the C.I.O. However, it did not take very long for the employing class to realize that the Lion was but a meek and docile sheep that needed to be feared no more than the elder organization with which they were dealing.

To the toilers the A.F. of L. brought very little that was of any value. To its paid officialdom it brought comfort, security and graft. The disillusionment, on the part of the workers, with the A.F. of L. can best be adjudged when one recalls the enthusiasm with which workers began flocking into the C.I.O.

With the birth of the C.I.O., many workers believed that at last had arisen a force which would prove to be the Messiah that would usher in a new day for them.

Upon the issue of industrial unionism versus craft unionism, the C.I.O. began to ride fast and high from victory to victory. At first, it threw the industrial plutocrats of America into a sort of commotion. Workers were no longer content with merely going out on strike outside of their places of work, but instead they began to carry on their strikes inside of their places of work. These were no mere sit-down strikes but actual occupation of factories and commercial establishments. Toilers began to assert themselves as something more than a mere cog in the wheel of the industrial system. By such direct action they asserted themselves as part owners (if not the real owners) of the industrial system. It was, in reality, a revolution in miniature form.

In Flint, Michigan, the workers made a very significant move outside of the factories: they organized themselves for a continuous form of strike against exorbitant landlords—by refusing to pay rent altogether. No one could foretell what was to follow; it was the swift march of revolutionary deeds that usually lead to a real Social Revolution. Undoubtedly, the leadership of the C.I.O. sensed this. They were determined right then and there to nip the spreading revolutionary move-

### Mooney Freed

After having undergone 22 years of imprisonment in behalf of the cause of the workers, Thomas J. Mooney is at last a freed man. The labor movement cannot claim any credit for his ultimate liberation. It stands guilty of the failure of not having brought about his (and that of Warren K. Billings's) liberation for all these 22 long years. Mooney's freedom comes as the result of the good graces of a politician, the new Governor of California—Mr. Olson. Under these circumstances, Billings (being a second offender) remains incarcerated at the mercy of the same dishonest State Supreme Court that has denied justice to both for all these years.

Pity the land of "the free and the brave" wherein a labor movement has to wait 22 years to see one of its valiant fighters freed—not as the result of its own solidaric action—but that of a political miracle. . . .

ment in the bud. And succeed they did. To some it might have appeared as a mere incident. In reality, it foreshadowed what was to happen to the C.I.O. as a revolutionary force in the labor movement's struggles in the United States.

The same employers who had been so fearful, at first, to have anything to do with the C.I.O. began to see the light. And this meant: that they were willing to sign agreements with the C.I.O., provided that the leadership would give assurance that no more occupation of industrial establishments would be countenanced. To this stipulation the leadership of the C.I.O. consented. The surrender marked the end of any hopes harbored by some well meaning but naive workers, that the C.I.O. was to usher in the dawn of a new day for the toilers of America.

It is almost an axiom that the betrayal of revolutionary principles invariably leads to far-fetched acts of deceit and to the thriving of dishonesty in general.

The fight of factions within the C.I.O., as illustrated by the feuds now raging within the Seamen's unions and the auto unions, is but the harvest of deceit on the part of the main leadership of the C.I.O.

No one can question the sincerity of the rank and file that is lending its support to either faction with the hope that the C.I.O. will once again go back on the road of revolutionary strikes. It is only a pity that the rank and file cannot see that as far as the leadership of both factions is concerned, it is but a mere scramble for power and jobs.

In order to convince themselves of the correctness of the statement just made, the workers of the C.I.O. unions need but place before both leaderships this simple question: would they countenance of a renewal of factory occupations during strikes, and would they break agreements with employers when unbearable conditions call for such action?

No one need be a great prophet in order to guess that the answer would be: an unequivocal NO.

What benefit, then, can well meaning and sincere workers obtain by siding with one faction or the other in this scramble for power and jobs?

The C.I.O. leadership has also led its respective unions into another avenue of compromise and illusion: the participation in politics.

The A.F. of L. has been playing the game of politics all along. But at no time has its participation been so deeply and openly involved as has been that of the C.I.O.—notwithstanding the short existence of the latter.

If until now the American Labor movement offered only trade union jobs as the chief attraction for career seekers, the C.I.O. added to this evil the political job as well.

This sort of interweaving of trade unions with politics can but result in one evil: a government controlled labor movement. When such a movement fully materializes, it results in a dictatorial, governmental, labor movement that becomes as ready to serve the status quo of a "democracy" as it would a totalitarian fascist regime. Proof of this we see in Austria, Germany, Italy and Russia.

Missrs. Swope and Young of General Electric were no mere fools when they were the first to chime in to the tunes of approval in dealing with an all centralized C.I.O. leadership rather than with the craft and decentralized A.F. of L. leadership. It fitted in more

perfectly with their schemes which the President in the White House is carrying out for them in order to avoid a Social Revolution in America. Mr. Sloan of General Motors as well as leading industrialists in the steel and other industries, also began to see the "light". Lately, even the die-hard Henry Ford went aboard the band-wagon of the C.I.O. Ford's peace with the C.I.O. leadership bears out the emergence of the most menacing centralized political trade-union set-up that the American labor movement has ever had to face.

What hope then is there left for the workers? Is it with the A.F. of L. or with the C.I.O.?

It is with neither labor organization, as far as achieving *Social emancipation* is concerned.

Let no one deceive one's self. Whenever any labor organization agrees to bargain with an employer, it thereby gives open consent to the right of the exploiter of labor to function as such, thereby sanctioning and aiding in the perpetuation of the capitalist system. And once a labor union starts bargaining with an employer, it can no longer be a menace to the employer or a hope to the employee that it will ever serve as a force through which the exploitation of labor would be brought to an end.

Anarchists, and anarchist organs, evince such little interest in the organized labor movements for the very reason that they are fully aware of what organizations of labor are intended for from their very birth. Anarchists look upon the organized labor movement as a compromising force at the expense of the true interests of the workers. No organized labor movement can be anything more than the machinery of compromise. And wherever and whenever compromise is the central foundation of any movement, its ultimate end—no matter what pretentious claims may be made to the contrary—are certainly destined to disillusionment as far as the social emancipation of the workers is concerned.

The only hope that the anarchist holds out for the exploited— is to and in the workers themselves. Only they alone are the force that can and ultimately will bring about that social emancipation which will end once and for all the exploitation and rulership of man over man.

Marcus Graham

### Ferrero Refuses to Be Handed Over to Fascist Italy

The letter below is Vincent Ferrero's reply to the Death Warrant, sent him by the Department of Labor. No country thus far has offered him Asylum:

Dec. 15, 1938

Hon. Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
My Dear Madam:

I have received a letter from your department which orders me to surrender at Ellis Island on December 13, 1938, for deportation to Italy on the S. S. Rex sailing from New York the following day.

I wish to inform you that, up to date, I have not been able to secure a visa to deport for a country other than Italy. It is a matter of fact and a matter of record that my life and liberty will be seriously endangered if I shall ever set foot on Italian soil. Under the circumstances, undoubtedly you will understand why I cannot comply with your order that I submit to deportation to Mussolandia. It is true that life is not always a pleasant journey, but I believe, and you will agree with me, that I should not bring a sudden end to my days by allowing my consignment to Italian Fascism.

I further wish to state that it is my legal and moral right to continue to reside in this country where I have lived for the last 33 years. However, since you are employing irresistible means to force my departure, I shall try to leave this country—always under protest—when and if I can do so without jeopardizing my life and liberty.

Respectfully yours,  
VINCENT FERRERO.

The Ferrero Defense Committee calls upon all free loving peoples to protest this outrage upon our ancient civil liberties.

# WHY WAS THE GENERAL STRIKE A FAILURE?

It cannot be denied that organized labor, as exemplified by the Confederation of Labor in France, has suffered a painful defeat in its attempt to proclaim a General Strike on November 30, 1938. This date will be memorable in the labor history of France, and it is to be feared that it will have far-reaching effects on the fascist tendencies and leanings of the government of France.

Spontaneous outbreaks, which were revolutionary in nature, took place between November 22nd and 24th in eight great factories of the metal and allied trades. The discontented workers were repeating the move of June, 1936. At that time, the workers' move was very effective because they occupied the factories and shut out the capitalists. In 1936, the action of the workers was a spontaneous, sudden and unified initiative. In November, 1938, however, the actions of the workers were isolated and did not find the necessary repose. This was due primarily to the fact that no concrete aims had been set up and that the French trade-union movement has been betrayed by its socialist political leaders. The masses sensed that the aim behind the recent strike was party interest rather than economic realities. And the workers were not willing to expose themselves to this betrayal.

Under these conditions, the government had a chance to show off its power. With police and military forces it concentrated its brutality against the valiant workers. When these forces were not able to penetrate the factories, the government took recourse to poisonous tear-gas and forced the workers to leave the factories.

All this was carried on by one of those shrewd politicians who were put into power by the wave of "anti-fascism" which swept France. When these politicians succeed in assuming power, they become the very incarnation of fascism. In 1934, M. Daladier was still a "radical" republican. At that time he saw how the workers, hoping to better their lot, downed fascism. The socialists and the "communists," as well, were clamoring for a "Government of a Popular Front." So M. Daladier entered into a bargain with the leaders of the above-named parties—themselves fascists whenever, and however, they get into power—and made his party join the fusion proposed by the others. In order to understand the tactics of M. Daladier, who is today fascistically suppressing workers, we must consider the following quotation taken from one of his speeches delivered in October, 1935. Fearing to be otherwise swept aside, he already aspired to become the ministerial president of France—as the successor to Blum, who was betraying all his socialist principles. It was then that M. Daladier said:

*"As a prelude, I salute tonight the great Assembly of all left-wing parties . . . In the face of the fascist danger, over which we laugh and which, nevertheless, we must not underestimate, it is of great importance to end controversies . . . All of you, you are the great proletarian party . . . Social Democrats and Communists, let me salute you with respect . . . This brilliant evening is only a prelude, a drop of water in comparison with the coming Assembly which will embrace all men determined to defend their liberty, all those men who do not want to dishonour themselves by surrendering the Republic to the servitude of the financiers."*

In order to judge correctly the shallowness—conscious and intended—of these words, we must be aware of the fact that the whole French capitalist and governmental machinery is dominated by the big financiers and the bank. The conservative "right," as represented by Marin and Tardieu, is dominated by the arms and munitions industry controlled foremostly by Francois de Wendel and the whole "Comite de farges."

M. Daladier, representing the "radical" center, is the chief stock owner of the industry for the fortification works of militarism—an industry in which the great industrialist Borie is watching the interests of the Rothschild group. The present minister of foreign affairs, M. Bonalt, is associated with the Lazard Bank. M. Herriot and the social-democratic leader, M. Blum, are the stool pigeons of the banker Horace Finaly. Finally, a speculator in inflation, was conquered by the other financial groups which brought about the downfall of the Blum government.

The only movement which refused to join the Front Populaire—the so-called United Front against fascism—was the Anarchist Union of France. It warned its members and the proletariat—as much as possible—against the inevitable disappointment which comes when honest socialist elements make the mistake of giving their support to those who are "anti-fascists"—and also anti-socialists.

To the great misfortune of the French workers, the syndicalist movement fell prey to the lure of the "anti-fascist" politicians. The Confederation of Labour, although upholding its inner organic independence, joined the "anti-fascist" fusion.

The social-democratic Blum government, by bringing about a rise in prices through inflation, destroyed all the economic successes of the June, 1936 occupational strike of the workers. After this great swindle on the part of the social-democrats, the discontent of the workers was general.

The proclamation of the so-called "Decret-Lois" is given by the syndicalist leaders as the immediate cause of the outbreak of the General Strike. The "Decret-

Lois" are laws arbitrarily set up by Prime Minister Daladier. They contain the orders for new taxes, the increase of prices in all state-monopolized products, a prolongation of the 40-hour week in all branches of work—especially in the arms industry—and a veiled but real decrease in wages. Indirect taxation is heavily levied upon the poor and slightly touches the wealthy. Besides all this, the decree contains drastic measures against the foreigners and generally reactionary orders.

Already the last Congress of the CGT declared itself unmistakably against these new laws. But none of these leaders stated that it was Parliament which gave Daladier the absolute dictatorial power to issue this decree. The Socialists, almost the strongest faction in Parliament, abstained from voting. Only the smaller "communist" faction voted vainly against giving this absolute power to Daladier. As a result, Daladier got what he wanted. By the way, it must be stated that he threatened to have Parliament dissolved if the "house" would not give him "full power." What a glaring proof of the "value" of parliamentarism for the workers!

When the Congress of the CGT adjourned on November 12, everyone expected that the organization would immediately proclaim the occupational strike as a means of rescinding the "Decret-Lois." But nothing of the sort happened. Meanwhile, strong agitation of the Socialist Party, which put up the resignation of M. Daladier as their aim, set in. The "communist" party joined in this as soon as it had heard that the government was about to commit itself to a covenant of "friendship" with Nazi Germany. In this Moscow sees, and not unjustly, an abdication on the part of France in its treaty with Russia. Both parties therefore, because of their partisan interests, tried to stir the CGT into action. They succeeded in getting the workers in the few above-mentioned factories to act spontaneously. When the fierce repression on the part of the government set in, however, these workers—as already related—saw themselves deserted. It stands to reason that neither the socialist nor the "communist" party, as their leaders, could do anything for the strikers. As political parties, they are nothing more than an example of organized impotency when it comes to helping workers truly and effectively. What is more ominous is the fact that the CGT did not act as it should have when the workers were brutally assaulted by the police and driven out of the factories with tear-gas.

The only possible answer which a revolutionary trade-union organization could have given to this brutality would have been the occupation of all the factories throughout the land. Having a membership of more than four million organized workers, the CGT could have done this and, by such an action, would have vanquished the government.

But, alas, is the CGT a revolutionary organization? No, by no means. Although it is nominally a federation, in its real activities it is dominated by its central committee. And this committee was loath to take up a direct struggle against the government. In fact, the central committee of the CGT met on November 25th, a day after the "gassing" of the occupational strikers. It decided that no longer should there be an occupational strike. Instead, it decreed a General Strike to take place on November 30. The General Strike, however, was not to include gas and electric companies and public utilities which deal with the medical profession. It was explicitly stated that the General Strike should not have any revolutionary aims, that it should be merely a "protest strike" against the "Decret-Lois"—especially because they were decreed while Parliament was not in session and because the CGT had not been "asked" anything by the government in regard to the contents of the new laws. Whereby, the central committee of the CGT forgot that parliament had voluntarily surrendered its supreme right of control of the legislative prerogative of the government.

A great distrust betook the workers; the "General Strike" gave the enemy five days of counter-action. Such a measure could not be taken seriously. It was secretly meant as a gesture of sympathy for those political parties which were against the new despotic laws. There never was any honest intent to abrogate the laws through direct action. And this feeling on the part of the French workers was correct and justified.

As had been foreseen by many, the government set out to suppress the strike before it even started. The first act on the part of the government was to declare all public monopolies and utilities under martial law. The workers therein were placed under military law, subordination and enforced labor. With a sad humor, it must be emphasized that the Daladier government did all this on the basis of a law which had been decreed by the Blum government. Thus, the social-democratic law was the basis of military enactments against the workers on the part of the present government. In vain did M. Blum protest against this situation—stating that "it was not meant thus." The Daladier government aptly repudiated the protest by proving that the Blum government had used the act in the same way against the workers.

By placing the workers in the main branches of governmental industries (against which the strike should have been chiefly directed) under military law, the government broke the strike. In spite of this, the strike could have been a success—had the CGT given its members a thorough anarchist and anti-militarist educa-

tion. But this was not the case. On the contrary, the CGT had pledged itself to the government for "the defense of the country." The CGT keeps itself in good terms of friendship with all the political parties by adhering to the "Front Populaire"—the anti-fascist conglomeration on the political-parliamentary field.

Thus, the entire membership of the CGT, seeing that its organization had not in the least counteracted the measures of the government, was psychologically totally unprepared for the great task before it. It was not able to strike against the military dictatorship of the government, against a militarism which the CGT has for a long time rather encouraged than combatted. The CGT declares this militarism to be a necessary defense for the "country" against the encroachment of fascism. And a real struggle against the system of capitalism was expressively forbidden and prohibited by the official announcement of the General Strike, as issued by the central committee of the CGT.

November 30, the day set for the General Strike, was a dark and dismal day. Millions of people looked on and stated that never had they seen a worse fizzle than this "General Strike." Trains, busses, taxis and the metro moved along as usual. The food industry was in full swing. Only in the factories of private industries, which had been stricken already by the "Decret-Lois" and its heavy taxes, was the strike felt. It was ridiculous to observe that those journals which are, more or less, for the people did not appear on the day of the strike. On the other hand, the reactionary fascist journals, with the aid of the strike breakers, made their appearance. It looked as though the workers of the press were striking against themselves.

The "General Strike" was aimed against the government, but the government felt least of all the effects of the strike.

Never before has French organized labour encountered so painful and dismal a defeat.

In the evening of November 30, M. Daladier and his corps of ministers jubilantly announced to the world, by means of radio, that "the government had been victorious by its force." Although the government promised to be "conciliatory," its actions on December 1st and the following days proved to be otherwise. The energetic and valiant minority which, with a spirit of fraternity and solidarity, went on strike, were arrested, locked out and dismissed en masse. A great wave of reaction set in. However, it was overcome, to a certain extent, by the sturdy resistance of the workers who went to the factories "en bloc" and streamed into them. When the rulers feared a resurrection of the occupational strike in hundreds of factories, they relented in their eagerness for revenge against the minorities of the CGT. Nevertheless, it must be stated that there are thousands in the country who will have to bear the brunt of a politically maneuvered action of the leaders of the CGT, inside and outside of the organization.

It is interesting to observe what these gentlemen of the gospel of "concentrated action," these preachers of the necessity of a central committee which orders strikes, these advocates of "strict discipline"; I say it is interesting to note what they did after their enlightened leadership had led the workers into their present plight and misfortune. This we find enunciated at the session of December 5th, where the National Council of the CGT met to discuss the situation. Leon Johaux, the ex-anarcho-syndicalist who is today a syndicalist moving along with social-democracy in its reform quackery, is mainly responsible for the very defeat of the organization. On December 5th, at the session of the National Council of the CGT, he stated:

*"We must revise our conception of strategy about the general strike . . . But it cannot be replaced by the occupational strike, because (lo and behold!) whether rightly or wrongly, the public opinion is against the occupational strike. It would, therefore, be useless to take recourse to this method. . . The best that one can do at present is to send letters to all parliamentarians and call their attention to the reactionary measures of the government and the employers."*

This is the "power" of an organization bankrupt of ideals, principles and actions! Indeed, in the days of Millerand, Briand and Clemenceau, the CGT, with a membership much smaller than that which it has today, could not have been beaten into such abject submission. The leaders then would not have dared to befuddle the minds of the workers with the rant and cant offered by Johaux.

Against those masses of workers who are carrying on the struggle single-handed, and who have been deserted, by their own organization with a membership of millions, M. Johaux gave vent to the following words:

*"In the face of the general, but most particularly, the international situation, the National Committee considers that the social troubles, engendered by governmental and employers' repression, should cease as quickly as possible—in order to give peace and calmness, so urgently needed, to the realm of production. . . For this purpose, the CGT declares publicly that it is ready to engage in any discussion which may be instrumental in ending the present conflicts."*

Yet, the government does not care to discuss with the CGT, an enemy which the government does not have to fear so long as the CGT remains under the present leadership. Therefore, the workers and the

# THE JEWS

CAIO

An unprejudiced mind finds it difficult, in this 20th century, to explain the mad wave of anti-Semitic hatred which is now sweeping, not only Germany, but the whole so-called civilized world, including the United States. In fact, it was in this Republic of ours that—during the last electoral campaign—we witnessed a bold attempt to prevent certain candidates from gaining office on the reactionary assumption that they did not come within the standards of "Americanism" solely because of their israelitic ancestry.

This writer spent his infancy where there were no Jews; where Jews were spoken of only as persons who did not go to church. Therefore, when in his youth he began to have relations with Jews, he could judge them with an unprejudiced mind, especially because at that time he himself was breaking away from the church. He learned that they differed from other persons of the same environment only for three principal reasons: an intelligence usually above the average, a commendable discretion and a strong attachment to money. For the first two reasons, the writer has admired the Jews, and as far as the third reason is concerned, well... later in life he had occasion to learn that the attachment to money is a defect which the Jews have in common with many other people. Nay, that no matter how greedy for money the Jews may be, in order to obtain it, seldom do they go to the criminal extremes often resorted to by others.

Judged by a mind freed of religious prejudices, the Jews do not differ from other human beings.

Whence, then, comes the anti-semitic hatred which—two and one-half centuries after the proclamation of the Rights of Man—continues to spread with such tragic consequences?

It comes from the beginnings of history.

The complaint has been lodged against the Jews that they are unassimilable. But anthropology denies that the Jews are a pure race, unassimilated and unassimilable. In this country, where people came from all over the world, we find the Jews to be tall and short, dolicocephalic and brachycephalic, dark and blond. Quite a bit of assimilation must have taken place in order to have this conspicuous variety.

History teaches us that the Jews are a defeated people driven away from the conquered land by the victorious enemy. This people was scattered all over the world, and its descendants have been persecuted and isolated in the ghetto for twenty centuries. The Jews have lost their ancient tongue. In many countries, such as Italy, Spain, France, etc., they speak exclusively the language of the country of which they have assimilated all customs with the exception of religion. This acclimatization shows a remarkable degree of assimilation, and history has recorded the innumerable difficulties and adversities through which this degree of assimilation has been achieved.

The Jew first landed in the ghetto out of a defensive necessity; then he was confined there by authority. Even there he was considered a foreigner, a foreigner who could be maltreated with impunity because he had no government from which he could invoke

protection. Constituted authority always denied the Jew the right to citizenship; the Church always considered him a heathen and aroused against him the prejudices and fanaticism of the lower people among whom he was living. Occasionally it launched against him the ferocity of the Inquisition and the homicidal fury of its cut-throats.

Surrounded by the triple wall of the ghetto, suspicion and prejudice, how could the Jew have been assimilated completely? Take notice that this wall began to crack a little only after the Great Revolution.

The process of assimilation among people of diverse origin needs a condition of moral equality; this condition has always been denied to the Jews. Where this condition exists, the process of assimilation takes place slowly. We see how in this country all ethnical groups persist in preserving their individuality of origin up to the second and even third generation, when every immediate reason of particular solidarity has disappeared. In Europe we find real ethnical cases amongst the national population of the various countries.

The responsibility for the failure of the Jews to be assimilated falls principally on the persecutions to which they were subjected. In the United States, where hostilities are less and persecutions hardly ever existed, the Jews are being assimilated like other people; in fact, more rapidly than many others.

Semitism, in the form of a nationalist movement, was born in the last century as a reaction to anti-Semitism which is centuries old. The Jews, scattered all over the world, have been continuously persecuted in many places, and almost everywhere they have been discriminated against in the exercising of their civil rights. Under the circumstances, it is understandable that religion would prove, for the Jews, the bond of common misfortune, a means of defense, the ideal which, somehow, expressed the feeling of solidarity amongst a people humbled by the same adversities. Hated by all, the Jews bound themselves more intimately for reciprocal help and defense. Religion was the fraternal tie of common destiny and the expression of solidarity in the common defense. All minorities—political, ethnical and religious—at all times and places, resist in the same manner the external pressure of the environment. The Waldesians gave an analogous example of resistance determined by the same principle of solidarity. Far from being a fault or a shame, this strength of cohesion, which makes possible the survival of a people scattered the world over 2000 years ago and cruelly persecuted for 20 centuries, is a noble virtue and demonstrates the futility of employing violence and persecution in the attempt to eradicate ideas which are deeply rooted in the conscience of man.

The Jews are being reproached for their attachment to money, and they are, very inconsistently, accused of being monarchs of finance and expounders of international social revolution at the same time.

I must reiterate that the Jews are not the only worshippers of money. Their outstanding cunningness in business, like their spirit of solidarity, has developed out of necessity. Excluded from the political and social life

struggle against capitalism and its daily encroachments upon the lot of the workers. But, in the light of their present experiences, they know better than to believe that it is their mission to build up "another revolutionary syndicalist organization." When the CGT was in its infancy, it voiced even anarchist sentiments. The bigger it became, however, the more it escaped from these sentiments. It declared itself "neutral towards philosophical conceptions," and, by advocating the necessity of carrying on the daily struggle for immediate economic gains within the capitalist system, it lost evermore its militancy in its fight against capitalism, militarism and governmentalism. The ultimate collapse of the CGT in France occurred in 1914 when the organization became a part of the war machinery of the French government.

The descent is not incidental; it is inevitable for every organization which does not devote itself exclusively to the propagation of the ideals of social revolution and anarchism. Especially does this hold true when labor organizations shun the influence of anarchist tactics. Only those who lack psychological understanding and who do not know the real meaning of the struggle for higher wages can claim that syndicalism can be used as a ladder in the ascent to anarchy. Anarchism aims to abolish the wage system.

This aim can be achieved only by a strong anarchist movement penetrating all branches of society. Such a movement, through direct actions of a revolutionary nature, would also show the futility of the wage struggle within capitalism. Governmentalism and financial hierarchy. The anarchist never refuses to participate in any struggle for the economic betterment of the masses. But woe to the anarchist who stoops to the non-anarchistic tactics and activities of trade-unionism!

French syndicalism, with its fizzle of a general strike and its total failure as a revolutionary factor, should inspire the anarchist to understand and teach that the economic and social elements, so necessary and indispensable to a social revolution, can be built up only through anarchism. Anarchism alone offers the solution for all social problems of our time.

A. Z.

France, December, 1938.

of the nation and of the city where they lived, never sure of an established domicile and always at the mercy of the voluble tolerance of princes and priests, the Jews used to foresee the periodical recurrence of political storms which invariably forced them to seek a new refuge. Hence, their struggle for the acquisition of money which is the best means to get out of many prisons and an ever valid passport accepted at all countries' borders.

Business was the best occupation for the wandering Jews. In business, which is, so to say, a ritual in the Religion of Money, the Jews had to contend with a stronger and implacable enemy. In this struggle they polished their cunningness and used it as a weapon of defense. Since astuteness is a manifestation of the intellect, as soon as the walls of the ghetto were lowered and the Jews could enter school and the life of the nation, they, naturally, excelled in every field. They gave the world scientists, artists, financiers and statesmen of the highest standing.

The Jews are today what 2000 years of ghetto, persecutions, fanatical ostracism and pogroms have made them. Their faults and virtues are largely the fruits of 20 centuries of Christian civilization.

Anti-Semitism has neither extenuation nor justification. When originating from religious prejudice, it is the most idiotic and barbarous form of intolerance; when prompted by envy for the intellectual superiority of the Jews, it is a poor admission of impotence. Finally, when anti-Semitism arises from the greed for the riches which the Jews so ably accumulate and preserve, then, it becomes a low passion fostered not by the Jews, but by a social order founded upon privilege and inequality.

The Jews are like all other men: rich and poor, good and bad, intelligent and stupid, reasonable and fanatical, exploiters and exploited. Therefore, it is on the basis of personal quality that they are to be respected or combated.

Like all human beings, the Jews would give the best of themselves to the common cause in a social order based on freedom and equality, where they could finally find that security and justice which have been denied them and all other social outcasts. In this manner, they would employ their skill and astuteness for the benefit of all rather than for the protection of their individual and sectarian egoism.

## On The Block

◆ "We are granite," yelled Mussolini to his thousands of Fascist hordes.

That's right, senor. Add a little cement and you'll have a perfect memorial to Michael Angelo's Italy...

◆ At any rate, we suspect very much that the 10,000 Italian volunteers Mussolini withdrew from Spain were merely sent back for repairs...

◆ Well, well, well! After much pleading and knee-bending by Mr. Chamberlain, Mussolini at last consented to recognize England's loss of Ethiopia...

◆ And now it's Daladier betraying his former socialist comrades.

◆ Here is a letter our Santa received from the Planet Mars:

Dear Santa Panta:—

We have been informed that on Sunday night, October 30th, you Earthians accused our Martian brothers of coming down to your planet and slaughtering your people with machine guns and gas bombs. You should be ashamed of yourselves to bring about such horrible accusation against us. Do you really suppose Martians could be as cruel as your Fascist murderers? Please convey to your brethren that if we ever decide to visit your planet it will be with no other intention than to see Sally Rand in her bubble dance.

Very respectfully yours,

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL (Exalted Ruler of Mars)

◆ We are no believers in spiritualism, but the way the axe is chopping off the heads of those Bolsheviks we begin to suspect that the ghost of Ivan descended upon the throne of Russia...

◆ And so that "wise" man of the Reich, Herr Streicher, again poured out his clever brain cells. To a throng of Nazi listeners he said that the peace at Munich was only possible because there weren't any Jewish prime ministers at the head of the governments.

He's darn right. There would have been no war started in 1914 if not for the Jewish prime ministers Itskowitz, Rabinowitz, Hurevitz and Cohen...

◆ And another thing. If it wasn't for that Jew Yan-keel-Changewitz, there would never have happened such an incident between China and Japan...

◆ Well, our Santa had something to be thankful for last Thanksgiving. He just discovered that he was not among the thousands killed in Barcelona and Canton.

Who cares for human ills

When roasted turkey the belly fills...

◆ We'll lay 10 to 1 England won't pay even if we get the King and Queen...

So this is Nineteen Thirty-Nine,  
And mankind still is ruled by swine...

Santa-Panta

small, honest, branch officials who have nothing to do with the great leadership, must bear the persecutions, imprisonments and lockouts.

In order to counteract this, the National Committee of the "great" CGT took no steps other than that proposed by Johaux. It sent an open letter to all parliamentarians who, by the way, are the really guilty ones, for they gave Daladier the absolute power to issue the "Decret-Lois." In its open letter, the National Committee declares that it "has decided to approach you, the representatives of the nation, and to make you the judge over the whole situation which is of such a nature that, for the moment, the production and the economy of the country are harmed... and, for the very near future, it is weighing heavily upon the so necessary unity of the nation."

Has there ever been a treachery on the part of leaders of a labor organization, more open and bare-faced than that pronounced here?

Thus, the great effort of the workers resulted in a terrible defeat, a public demonstration of impotency. But it was more a defeat of politicians, parties and labor leaders than a defeat of workers. The French workers clearly declared that they do not blindly follow the orders and commandments of the leaders. No, the defeat of the "General Strike" in France is the defeat of leaders, not of workers.

• • •

Let me make a few concluding remarks which should concern those anarchists who claim that the anarchist movement should ally itself with the trade-union movement and that the main work of anarchists should go along the path of trade-unionism which will be the harbinger of the social revolution.

The history of French revolutionary syndicalism is the strongest and most instructive refutation of this whole theory. The most fortunate aspect of the anarchist movement in France, as represented by the Anarchist Union, is the non-partaking in the views of so-called anarco-syndicalists. An overwhelming majority of anarchists in France carry on their propaganda as much as possible within the trade union. They are members of the CGT because, as workers, they must

# NEW YEAR REVERIES

Awake, awake! The world is young,  
For all its weary years of thought:  
The starkest fights must still be fought,  
The most surprising songs be sung.

Then hear the shouting voice of men  
Magniloquently rise and ring:  
Their flashing eyes and measured swing  
Prove that the world is young again.

O stubborn arms of rosy youth,  
Break down your other Gods, and turn  
To where her dauntless eyeballs burn—  
The silent pools of light and truth.

—JAMES ELROY FLECKER.

The people of the world have again ushered in a New Year. Once more "civilization" has paused to greet the beginning of another year in the Christian calendar. And this celebration, so to speak, came as a climax to the Yuletide season—a season of universal joy, a period of spreading "peace on earth and good-will to men."

Even the rulers of the world took time out from their game of politics to get into the spirit of things. Even the leaders of nations and of governments paused to send their blessings of peace to the multitudes of subdued subjects. Yes, even the tyrants rested long enough in their daily acts of oppression to promise their people a happier and more prosperous year—more of the same peace, prosperity and happiness we have so long endured and suffered!

In their predictions and declarations to the world, the "great rulers" have ironically and rashly stated that they will bravely and dutifully bear the burden of promoting universal peace, contentment and happiness for all. Boldly and defiantly they have uttered words which should challenge the ire of humanity. But the irony of tyrants is insurmountable. It is like a glaring light which often penetrates the eye and blurs the vision. The irony of tyrants is a deceitful weapon!

The beginning of a new year has its different meanings for different people. For the vast number of people, most of them often not having enough to eat, the occasion means a series of festivities embodying a religious significance that is centuries old. For this majority, the occasion warrants the forgetting of their trials and tribulations; for them it means that God's in His heaven, and all's right with the world." It often means the assuming of a charitable spirit toward one's fellow men, a spirit which lasts only during this period of festivities. Personal grievances are forgotten; family feuds are cast aside. The world becomes inebriated with the false and fanatic spirit of giving until it hurts, of laughing, of enjoying.

Of enjoying what?

For the leaders and rulers of this inebriated people, the coming of a new year takes on a different meaning. It becomes the time for making inventory of the tactics and policies of leadership. It becomes the time for taking note of past experiences with the intent of profiting by mistakes at the expense of the people. For the leaders, it means the concoction of new ways and means whereby life can be rendered more miserable for the people who are ruled by their decrees.

In so doing, these leaders—political and labor—do not fail to take stock of their victories and failures. They do not hesitate to psychologically analyze and unscrupulously estimate the degree to which people will submit. In fact, it is this great degree of submission on the part of the people which promotes and fosters greater and stronger oppression on the part of those who rule us. Submission is the means whereby rulers of all time have conquered peoples. Submission is the refuge of cowards. But the cowards can keep us in submission only as long as we allow them to do so.

But we must not deviate.

The beginning of a new year is the time when resolutions are made and broken, when old programs are discarded and new ones installed, when events of the past year are reviewed with the intentions of forecasting new developments and happenings. It is the time for wiping the slate clean of all past errors.

In the midst of all this excitement and festivity, in the midst of all this celebration and inebriations, people are prone to overlook and forget the misfortune and misery of those around them. What does it matter that a family is starving while most of the world is feasting and drinking? What does it matter that somewhere a child is shivering from the cold while billions of electric

lights are still illuminating the Yuletide trees? What does it matter that somewhere a father is dying while the rest of the world is hilariously shouting the beginning of a new year?

What does it matter? . . .

I wonder, and I think. I wonder if somewhere there is someone who is also thinking, who is not forgetting. . . .

I can still hear the echoes of the midnight mobs

## Men of Science Against Fascism

The Manifesto which we print below is commendable for more than one reason. It is signed by 1,284 American scientists, including three Nobel Prize winners, who summon their colleagues to participate actively in the defense of democracy "as the sole means of preserving freedom and insuring scientific progress."

The scholars of the world, consciously or unconsciously, have been and still are subservient to either private capitalists or the State, interests which finance the educational systems. This accounts for the utter failure of men of learning to take an early strong stand against the scourge of the century—Fascism.

Logically, artists and educators should be the first to challenge and fight the enemies of freedom because no artist or teacher can remain true to his art or profession in a regime of moral and psychological servitude.

The Manifesto of these American scientists ought to be an irresistible stimulus to the artists and teachers of the world to come forward with a general tremendous denunciation of Fascism.

May we remind these articulate men of science though that, while their act is commendable, they should follow the lead of humanity in reaching the conclusion that a democracy which condones the exploitation and rulership of man over man is not worthy of its name.

### THE MANIFESTO

"In an article entitled 'The Pragmatic and Dogmatic Spirit in Physics,' which appeared in the April 30th issue of Nature (with strong editorial disapproval), wide publicity is given to the official Nazi position on science and scientific research. In essence the article is an attack on all theoretical physics, and, by obvious implication, on scientific theory in general. It introduces the official racialism of the Nazis to divide physicists into good, i.e., non-theoretical and 'Aryan,' and bad, i.e., theoretical and Jewish. Similar notions have appeared in many popular magazines and scientific journals in Germany, in the addresses and writings of the Minister of Education, of university rectors and deans, of scientists and non-scientists. Apart from racial theories, furthermore, science and art are subject to ruthless political censorship. These ideas have found concrete expression in the dismissal and persecution of over 1,600 teachers and scientists (by the fall of 1936) from German universities and research institutes (and now Austria and Italy too), and in the restriction of higher education to students having the 'proper' political and racial qualifications.

"American scientists, trained in a tradition of intellectual freedom, hold fast to their conviction, that, in the words of the resolution adopted by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 'Science is wholly independent of national boundaries and races and creeds and can flourish only when there is peace and intellectual freedom.' If science, to quote the AAAS resolution again, is to 'continue to advance and spread more abundantly its benefits to all mankind—and who can attack that goal—then the man of science has a moral obligation to fulfill. He must educate the people against the acceptance of all false and unscientific doctrines which appear before them in the guise of science, regardless of their origin. Only in that way can he insure those conditions of peace and freedom which are essential for him and for the progress of all mankind.

"It is in this light that we publicly condemn the Fascist position towards science. The racial theories which they advocate have been demolished time and again. We need only point to the work of Heinrich Hertz in physics, Fritz Haber and Richard Willstätter in chemistry, Ludwig Traube, Paul Ehrlich and August Wassermann in biology and medicine, all German Jews and all empirical scientists. The charge that theory leads 'to a crippling of experimental research' is tantamount to a denial of the whole history of modern physics. From Copernicus and Kepler on, all of the great figures in Western science have insisted, in deed or in word, upon the futility of experimental research divorced from theory.

"We firmly believe that in the present historical epoch democracy alone can preserve intellectual freedom. Any attack upon freedom of thought in one sphere, even as non-political a sphere as theoretical physics, is in effect an attack on democracy itself. When men like James Franck, Albert Einstein, or Thomas Mann may no longer continue their work, whether the reason is race, creed, or belief, all mankind suffers the loss. They must be defended in their right to speak the truth as they understand it. If we American scientists wish to avoid a similar fate, if we wish to see the world continue to progress and prosper, we must bend our efforts to that end now."

Copies of the manifesto can be obtained from Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, P. O. Box 22, Station H, New York, N. Y.

Ray Randall.

who throng the brightly illuminated streets on New Year's Eve. Yet, I am thinking of hundreds of small children who are hearing the road of cannons, the soaring of planes and the bombardments of war machinery. I think of the people of Spain who have been fighting for almost three years. I think of the people of Spain whose energies are given not at banquet tables but on the lines of battle. I think of the people of Spain who have had to surrender, in some measure, to Franco, and international fascism and diplomacy. But I also think that no one will be able to rob the people of Spain of their power of resistance, their undaunted courage to carry on, their valiant energies which they give and give. I think of the children and mothers of Spain who, in the face of cold, hunger and world opposition, are fighting without stopping to weep for their dear dead ones. No, in Spain there is no time for weeping and for words. It is their deeds which have spoken for more than two years. But the world does not hear; it is deaf to the pleas which this Iberian population fighting against fascism—the scourge of the century—has launched to the world.

I think, too, of the Chinese and Japanese who are being killed in an undeclared imperialistic war which has been waging for some time. My mind travels fast as I think of the millions of people in Europe, the millions who have withstood all kinds of misfortunes at the hands of the tyranny and oppression that has befallen them. Italy, Germany, Russia; nay, all the countries in Europe are tensely fearing the worst. The worst, whatever it may be, will come—unless the people see to it that they can stop its coming. The madness of the dictators is fast gripping the people of the world. Only the awakening of these same people will stop the spread of this ferocious demon.

A new Year? A year of what?

I wonder . . . I see the people of this country going around, thankful that we are living in a democratic country. And these same people living in the richest country in the world must beg for their daily bread. These same people are the celebrants of the new year, the year which will bring them better conditions. . . . so their ruler says.

A new year? A year of what?

It is an old story, yes. Still I wonder. Can it be that all the people in all the lands are blind to the fact that we have had too much to bear? No, it cannot be that. Is it true that no voice has risen to protest to the madness of tyrants? No, it is not so. History reminds us of the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, Kronstadt. No, it is not that, for prisons are filled with people who have, in some way or other, rebelled against conditions around them. No, it is not that. Are we not seeing the people of Spain courageously shedding blood because they are determined not to let fascism rule them?

History is replete with pages telling of the deeds of those who have not forgotten, of those who have not heeded the vain promises of mad rulers. History is filled with pages telling the vivid stories of men who have refused to bow to the orders of those above.

Yet, it is a new year. Do we stop to think of these things? Or have we bowed once more to the false promises? Have we stopped to ask ourselves what the new year has in store for us? Or are we ready to do what we did last year and the year before that?

Are we ready to do something for ourselves, or shall we wait until. . . . ?

I am almost afraid that I hear no answer. Suddenly, however, I seem to remember. Youth! What a challenge to all forms of tyranny! What a hope for a bright tomorrow! Youth. Yes, that is the answer. Youth is the pillar on which we rest all our future hopes. Youth, you are strong; you are many; you must be wise. Youth, it is you who must refuse to listen to the wild chants and foolish promises of those who shape our destinies. Youth, may we call you a fountain from which must spurt all the hopes for life? Can we depend on you to realize that within you lie the power and possibility to make life worth living, to be men?

A new Year? No, a New Dawn!

Yes, a New Dawn, a life based on real happiness, peace and contentment. There will be no need to watch the coming of a new year, for then we will have attained a New Dawn. There will be no need to listen to vain promises, for it is we who shall promise ourselves . . . to live as men among men, to live peacefully and harmoniously in a happy environment. It is we who must decide that we must shape our own destinies. It is we who, at the very beginning of a new year arranged and handed down by religion and tradition, it is we who must resolve that the time has come for us to realize that we want to be men, that we want to live. We must be strong, mentally and physically; we must be unpliant; we must cease to submit. Only when we do this, only then shall we witness, not a new year, but a New Dawn, a New Life of which we shall be a vital part. For, it is we who are the sacred human legion which strives but never dies. It is we who, according to Shelley, must:

Rise like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number;  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep hath fallen on you.  
Ye are many, they are few.

## MAN!

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and Movement  
MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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# THE ONLY STRUGGLE WORTH FIGHTING FOR

The historic betrayal that took place in Munich, September last should convince all fair-minded people of the world that the scourge of Fascism is triumphant on the march.

It should now be clear to the whole world that the official representatives of the so-called democratic governments, who negotiated the Deal whereby the Sudeten territory of Czechoslovakia was carved off and presented to Herr Hitler as a gift, not only betrayed that unfortunate nation at the sham peace conference but that the disgraceful Deal they effected proves to be a pre-arranged plan between themselves and the Hitler-Mussolini outfit. This is borne out by the fact that during the crucial days when the peace of Europe was hanging in the balance, it was conceded by all outside observers that with all the military power Hitler and Mussolini could array on the field of battle the two Fascist countries could not match the armed forces they would have had combined against them. A defeat for Fascism was sure to be the outcome — it was even questionable if Hitler would have opened his guns had he been convinced that at the last moment his bluff would be answered with war. Yet, in the face of this certain victory for Democracy, the world was astonished to learn that England and France at the last minute capitulated to the Nazi dictator, granting him even more than he originally had demanded.

Ordinarily, if we should look upon the whole situation from an intelligent and realistic point of view, we could not but express a profound feeling of gratitude to the men who made this peaceful solution possible. The frightful reality that looks down on us from the memorable World War could chill the blood in our veins when we think of the horrible death and destruction modern implements of warfare would inflict upon the European populations had the alternative been for a general mass slaughter. We cannot foretell what the immediate future may bring, but for the moment at least the world got a breathing spell. Those who are about to perish by the sword and the gas-bomb have been spared—at least temporarily. And if we really should abide to logic and reason, the "price" paid for the peace of Europe was not too exorbitant. After all, the Sudetens are Germans; they wanted to be enfolded in the German Reich, and—right or wrong—they wanted to be united with the people whom they consider their brethren.

To prevent, therefore, a repetition of the 1914 holocaust, the price paid is very small indeed. That, however, would all be very well if international disputes that arise from time to time among the separate nations were discussed and agreed upon by men of honor, by men of intelligence, by men who do not seek to protect the interest of a particular clique that stands behind them but who really have the welfare of the whole human race at heart.

None of the above moral principles can be attributed to the Four politicians who represented their respective countries at the Munich conference table. Neither of them was in any way concerned to save the peoples from the dread of war. Actually each one connived in his own filthy mind to outbluff the other with threats and counter-threats so as to gain some concessions for the security of their castles who dominate the policies of their governments; the Fascist dictators, having the advantage of convincing the representatives of England and France that only a strong Fascist state will save capitalism from disintegration finally emerged the victors. Thus we see that right after the concluding articles of peace have been signed the world again is kept in nerve-racking suspense by these developments which followed the Munich betrayal:

1. Hitler did not stop with the acquisition of the 3,500,000 populated Sudeten territory awarded him in the peace settlement but claimed a larger slice — and got it too.

2. Hitler's stout heart became so filled with kindness that he graciously ceded large areas of what was left of Czechoslovakia to Hungary and Poland.

3. The remainder of Czechoslovakia cannot by any means now be considered an independent country but only a mere annex of Hitler's Third Reich.

4. France, a strong military power since the close of the World War, has now been reduced to a second factor in the European continent, helplessly depending upon the good graces of Hitler and Mussolini.

5. Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and the rest of the Balkan states will either have to submit willingly to Nazi domination or fall under the axe of Hitler's henchmen.

6. England will continue her straddling between Fascism and Democracy to preserve her prestige as a world power, at the same time she is feverishly preparing gas masks for her people, who eventually will bear the brunt of Nazi barbarism.

7. Russia now has to intensify her armament production and speed up the digging of trenches around the Ukraine where the mighty hordes of Hitler's military machine is heading.

8. Mussolini, by virtue of his teammate's easy victory at Munich, took courage and is now making similar demands upon France for some of her territorial possessions.

In short, the whole world was thrown into the jaws of two vicious monsters, who will stop at nothing to impose their despotic rule upon a helpless humanity.

Such was the price of peace paid at the Munich settlement.

Now let us glance into the "realistic policy" the capitalist statesmen maintained they had to pursue in dealing with the Fascist dictators: Mr. Chamberlain, who by this historic betrayal has surrendered the whole of Europe—if not the whole civilized world—to the bloody Dictators, attempts to parade before all nations as an innocent bystander, one who simply played a saintly role in bringing about a peaceful solution to Hitler's claims. Today the whole world knows that he is a greater liar than a statesman. More and more the civilized world comes to know what a treacherous role he and his predecessors of the same ilk have played in helping Hitler rise to such mighty heights. Long before Hitler could even dream of talking back to a French corporal the Simons and the Halifaxes were instrumental in putting through British financial credit to Germany for her rearmament plan. Now, after Germany became the strongest military power in the world, Mr. Chamberlain sees fit to follow a "realistic policy" in dealing with Herr Fuhrer's demands.

But there is something peculiarly strange: It is common knowledge, both here and abroad, that the Washington administration under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt has vociferously been attacking Fascist totalitarianism. Mr. Roosevelt particularly does not mince words in condemning the Hitler barbarism on the persecuted people of Germany. Yet we learn from authentic facts published recently in the *New Republic* that ever since the rise of Hitler to power American shipments of planes and plane motors continued to pour into Germany; and this, notwithstanding the fact that under

## Chaos and Anarchy

"What Chaos! What wretched gangsters!" recently groaned a social democrat. Naturally he is not the only one who grumbles. But how can it be? To be sure we are supposed to live in an orderly society. In every country there is a government supported by the people. What do men really want then? The more they are ruled the greater becomes the chaos. The government decides the rights and duties of their people; not only do they decide the rights of those living inside their respective boundaries, but even of those living in foreign lands. When will the so-called masses' representatives be seen in their proper light?

In fascist countries the "parties" do not rule, but only Heads which are controlled by capitalists. In every democratic country the State Secretaries act arbitrarily without bothering with parliament or the will of any representative. Surely in such cases there may be an interpretation in parliament to keep up the show; still the fact remains that their achievements are fulfilled just the same. What does the parliament know about secret diplomacy and other things? Every government is against the working masses. The latter, in a sugar-coated manner, are violently plundered by the means of indirect taxes. Taxes which serve to keep up the army which in turn keeps down the proletariat.

Talking further with the social-democrat upon Anarchism, he raised both of his arms in despair and shouted, "No! No! We don't want that!" What do you want then? I asked. "No Fascism, no concentration camp! Men wish to be free!" Yes, men want to be free; but such freedom, according to you, is to be obtained in a democratic regime a la Roosevelt with his millions of unemployed, his Pinkerton policy, his innumerable millionaires and his thousands and thousands of outcasts. Or your kind of freedom may be gotten in a Chamberlain system of immense "ravished" colonies; in colonial dominions with bomb throwers flying over the natives' dwellings.

Now what kind of government do the social democrats prefer? In regard to Russia, shall I keep quiet? It is too rough for you; Bolshevism? . . . brrr. The government in Russia differs in nothing from all other governments. We agree on that and also that there is great chaos in the soviet land; and you can see that no matter what form of governmental drag-net the people are caught in, the more they are governed, the greater the chaos.

However, men will cling to the idea that what must never come is Anarchy. Therefore, everyone alike tries to drive away the red-spectre—Anarchy. And to this end capitalists, fascists, communists, socialists, priests, ministers and without forgetting the Rabbis, all agree. The workers shout, *Helas!* in chorus with the rest. They don't know. Nay, they could not know any better. Nevertheless, even with such a broad united front they remain handicapped. Through such available forces they are able to numb the workers with propaganda; we can understand why they are anti-Anarchist.

Thus men stay bogged in a putrid marsh, refusing to listen to the reasoning of such simple and truthful facts—Neither God nor master! The earth to the workers! No profit from the work of others!

Yes indeed, the truth seems to be too simple to the masses. Men continue to listen to those in power or to those who crave to gain it and whose interests lie in this very chaos. Men are warned—"If you do everything to weaken the influence of our coercive system you will fall into the abyss of Anarchy!"

Beware of Anarchy while the whole world stinks from the decaying corpses of youth slaughtered in this orderly society.

Chaos or Anarchy, what's your choice?

Anonymous  
(Trans. from "De Vrije Socialist" by J. Scarceux)

post-war treaties "the importation of arms, munitions and war materials of every kind" was declared illegal.

In sum and substance it all leads to one conclusion, namely that capitalist countries of the world have played a major role in helping Hitler build up his huge army and air force so it could serve as a whipping-post for the working class serving under the capitalist system.

What lesson do we learn from the political combat on the World's arena? Here is the answer: It is not Fascism alone that threatens to eradicate every vestige of human freedom gained since the Renaissance period. Fascism is merely a Frankenstein created by capitalism for the sole purpose of protecting its monopoly over the accumulated wealth. We have seen it happen in Italy; we have seen it happen in Germany. We see it now happen in Spain and China.

It is no secret that capitalism has blockaded the republic of Spain to insure a victory for Franco's fascism and thus annihilate the collectivization idea experimented by the anarcho-syndicalist movement. It is no secret that, with all the controversy going on between Japan and the outside Powers about an "open door" in China, Japan is supplied with all the Bank credits as well as ammunition which she needs for her military campaign, while China is denied every plea she makes for a loan or for any other material she needs for her defense. And it is likewise no secret that Germany and Italy are aided and abetted by the capitalist countries, their open condemnation of Fascist-Nazi barbarities notwithstanding.

The paramount issue to capitalism is to crush every hope entertained by the labor movement of the world to ever become a dominant factor in the political and economic organism of society. A strong organized world proletariat is too dangerous for capitalism to fathom, hence it is willing to risk her entire economic security in the hands of a Dictatorial power rather than to be threatened by a political domination arising from the oppressed masses.

The working class of the world not yet caught in the Fascist grip must realize this. The sooner the better. Otherwise medieval slavery will be facing them with every new conquest Fascism gains on the capitalist arena. Whether it be in Barcelona or Paris, London or Hankow, the workers must stand ready to defend themselves against the Fascist beast which capitalism let loose to chase them back into slavery.

Nor should the workers be oblivious to the fact that when finally war does break out between Capitalism and Fascism—so long as there will be rulers war is inevitable—they will have nothing to gain from either winning side. There is only ONE Struggle facing the exploited masses of the world—

A STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

Samuel Polinow

## Books and Pamphlets Received

Gen. Casimir Pulaski (Oct.-Nov. issue of "The Foreign Born"), Mimeographed.

Immigration, Deportation, Naturalization (June-July issue of "The Foreign Born"), Mimeographed.

One Million Refugees by Charles Recht (Aug.-Sept. issue of "The Foreign Born"), Mimeographed.

("The Foreign Born" is being issued by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Flozari's Sampler by Flozari Rockwood. Fifteen page pamphlet of verse selections. 25 Cents per copy. Pegasus Studios, 1309 Payne Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Tributes to Flozari: A Brochure of Rime compiled by Ray H. Rockwood. 30 pages pamphlet. 25 Cents per copy. Same address as previously listed.

Manifesto of Non-Nationalists. 31 pages, pamphlet, 10 Cents. B. Roberts, 1, Caister Avenue, Whitefield-Manchester (Lancs) England.

Mussolini Red and Black by Armando Borghi. 208 pages, paper cover. 75 Cents per copy. Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 45 W. 17th Street, New York City. (Obtainable also through MANI.)

Slaves To Duty by John Badcock, Jr. Hand set and published by Laurence Labadie, 2306 Buchanan Street, Detroit, Michigan. 39 pages, pamphlet form. Beautifully printed. Price upon request.

Social Reconstruction in Spain by Gaston Leval. 33 page pamphlet. 10 Cents. Spain and the World, 21, Frith St., W. 1, England. (Obtainable also through MANI.)

Antifascismo proletario por J. Garcia Pradas. 171 pages, paper cover. Editado por la Seccion de propaganda del Comité de Defensa Confederal del Centro, Serrano 111, Madrid, Spain.

Colectivizaciones: La Obra Constructiva De La Revolucion Espanola. (Ensayos, documentos, reportajes.) por Augustin Soucy y Paul Folzgar. See address above.

De Julio A Julio: Un Ano De Lucha. 269 pages, paper cover. 4pts. See address above.

Espana? An album depicting the horror tales and fascist calumnies on one page, and on the opposite page the truth. Issued by the CNT-FAI. (See address above.)

Espana Cuna De La Libertad por Lazarillo De Tormes. 223 pages, paper cover. 6pts. See address above.

Espana, Tumba del Fascismo por Lazarillo De Tormes. 206 pages, paper cover. 6 pts. Comité Nacional CNT-FAI. See address above.

Julio, 1936—Espana. (A magnificently gotten-up Album, telling in effective photograph reproductions the story of the people's struggle in Spain against fascism as well as their attempt to at the same time rebuild a new social life. Issued by the CNT-FAI. See address above.)

Madrid, Rojo Y Negro: Milicias Confederales. (Spanish) 155 pages, paper cover. Publicaciones "Frente Libertario", Madrid, Spain.

Quince dias de Comunismo libertario en Asturias por Solano Palacio. 200 pages, paper cover. Ediciones "El Luchador", Escornalbou, 37 (antes Guinardo) Barcelona, Spain.

# CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—JOHN MILTON.

## The Social Revolution in Spain

(A reply to Pierre Ramus)

In the August and October, 1938, issues of MAN, there appeared two contributions of Comrade Pierre Ramus bearing on the question of the Spanish Anarchist Federation.

Ramus speaks of "the horrible error of the F.A.I. credulity" when it assumes the possibility of an anarchist social revolution in combination with dishonest and hypocritical politicians. Especially after the assassination of so many anarchists by the communists and the useless "sacrifice of so many thousands of lives in a war which offers but the alternative of a Right or Left Fascism."

### A Defective Platform

A defective platform that of the F.A.I. of May, 1937. No definitions or explanations. Intentional omission "to suit all exigencies." Its previous principles proving inadequate, they devised new ones, says Ramus. He sees in this "a positive element of opportunism and most dangerous possibilities and surprises for real anarchism."

"The F.A.I. cannot fulfill integrally its mission if the war is lost. To win the war means to maintain firmly and victoriously the principles of the revolution."

Our harsh and relentless critic denies any gain for revolutionary anarchism in Spain since '36. The F.A.I. is deceiving the Spanish people in behalf of the Spanish government. They are being bled white gratuitously, only decreasing their chance of a successful battle royal against a victorious Franco. First let him conquer Spain and then fight him!

### No Distinction Between Governments

All forms of government are, like all coons, alike to him. So why fight fascism in Spain, if anarchism cannot be realized in toto? Should they then lie down and die like sheep in the slaughter-house? Should they turn their backs in betrayal on the Spanish people? Will they not be butchered by the hundreds of thousands, even as they were butchered by the hundreds of thousands in their beds at the beginning of the uprising and later in the cities captured by the insurgent gangsters?

### The Paris Commune

Let's not forget the historical May week of 1871 in Paris, when thirty-five thousand Communards were slaughtered in cold blood, and scores of thousands were thrown into prison and concentration camps and exiled to the inferno of New Caledonia.

If it is true that all governments are alike, why has our critic barely escaped with his life recently from a nazified country to a republican one? Why has the writer of these lines escaped from fascist Mallorca? (I could tell him a thing or two about my brief experience after July 19, 1936, in Spain.)

Why do they all want to run to U. S. A. instead of Russia, Germany or Italy?

Oh, with what facility one is apt to heap words and phrases on the ever indulgent paper!

Is it "really immaterial to the suffering masses and to the anarchists of Spain as to which side wins"? The twenty odd million Spaniards must needs be stark mad to fight and die by the hundreds of thousands against a phantom foe.

When slapped on one cheek, turn thou the other also. Why resist at all? Why not let Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler's trample all mankind under foot and call it a day?

Ramus wants 100% anarchism at once, or nothing at all. He refuses to reckon with facts, conditions, and circumstances, with life as it confronts us in actuality.

### We Are All Against War

Whilst we are against the deification of anything or anyone, human life and human liberty we consider as the most sacred and the most precious thing in all existence. War and bloodshed are most abhorrent to all anarchists. We never tire of repeating that if it were to depend on us, the social revolution would be a slow, bloodless and peaceable evolutionary metamorphosis. We are unalterably opposed to all force, violence and coercion. We believe in non-invasion, in "leben und leben lassen". Anarchism means the right and opportunity for each to live his own life. No encroachment, no interference with the lives of our fellowmen. Home rule. We ask to be let alone. Our conduct and behavior are no one's affair, so long as we do not trespass or intrude upon the rights of our neighbor.

### Self Defense

However, in defense of our rights, lives and liberties we will fight. It is but natural. Biology knows of no more elemental law than that of self-preservation. The criterion of an animal's intelligence is its ability to preserve its life. Whole species succumbed and became extinct because of their inability to defend themselves, lacking intelligence, i.e., adaptability to their environment.

Ramus is against the sacrifice of human lives in Spain. Right. But did the Spanish nation bring it on? Or the socialists, anarchists and republicans? Where would he and I be if those brutal gunmen were permitted to seize the entire world?

Where would we all be, if the slaves and vassals of

old had not battled for their emancipation? Where would labor have been, if not for strikes and sacrifices?

True, exploitation and brute domination by man are still rampant. But their day, too, is sure to come. Not with one abrupt blow will they be done away with. It will have to be a slow, gradual process. We shall have to adapt ourselves to circumstances, as we are doing in our everyday life.

### All or Nothing

Comrade Ramus calls the Spanish anarchists traitors because they had the anarchist revolution in their hands and let it slip out. Ridiculous. At best they form less than 5% of the Spanish population. Did he expect to see the tail wag the dog?

As for me, I will take half a loaf rather than none at all. Ramus insists upon the immediate realization of totalitarian anarchism. But how much propaganda for his ideas can he make under Hitler's tyranny and terror?

Why, he asks, does the F.A.I. instruct its followers to subordinate themselves individually and collectively to our supreme final aim and remain coherent, disciplined and brave at a time when its platform holds out against totalitarian, dictatorial revolution?

He is against discipline and all directing, yet later he says: "For this purpose it (the revolution) must be oriented and directed in the hands of the workers and the organization which authentically represents them."

How in the name of common sense (the most un-common of all senses) can we conduct our meetings, conferences, conventions and congresses without discipline, direction, orderliness? How could the Generalidad accomplish any results in their wonderful anarcho-syndicalist work? They compromised? Certainly. They united with the socialist and communist unions, with political parties? Yes, my friend. It is easy for you to judge, condemn and damn sitting at your writing desk.

Perhaps you would have sung a different tune had you been there, brother.

He stands for the full liberty of the individual and against submission to the fictitious abstraction of the "whole". Splendid. So do we all. But is it possible to achieve it at this moment in toto? Green apples are apt to give one the bellyache. Let them ripen on the tree in the sunlight first.

The peoples are not yet ripe and ready for full fledged anarchism. It will be a big job to convince the millions of the grandeur of our ideas. Rome was not built in a day; nor was it destroyed in a day. Each process took centuries.

After all, we are only some twelve thousand years from the stone age. But a single moment in the life of an individual.

Why this impatience, brother? Why abrogate all rules and regulations, all directing and discipline, all fusion and affiliation? Can one defy even the rules of traffic with impunity? Can you and I disobey the directing of the "cops" in Paris, London or New York and survive?

### Authority and Authority

Even under anarchy authority will have to be obeyed and submitted to. Though it will be less and less of the coercive and commanding type and more and more of the rational, advisory sort of authority, the authority, of reason and science, of the specialist and expert.

One will always readily submit to the orders, of his physician, shoemaker and editor, for instance.

Our critic is against all programmata minima, most vehemently denouncing the F.A.I. platform. (Too bad that he fails to furnish us with a full copy. It is often impossible to make head or tail of his translated quotations.)

But again he fails to reckon with conditions and circumstances. Why then all the abuse? Why the cursing and accusations? Why all the billingsgate? "Traitors", "corrupters", "misleading and betraying not only the Spanish movement but that of the entire world"

### Collectivism

Here again Ramus is misconstruing the meaning of words. Is collectivism but a "higher form of capitalism"? One can live and create collectively in free and cooperative communes. In fact, in Spain collectivism has always stood for free communism. (See Pi y Margall, Bakunin and Kropotkin.) We need not accept the definition of Marx, that collectivism is the opposite of free socialism.

The bolsheviks collectivized the Russian peasants by force, yet they still call themselves "communists", as the nazis include socialism in their program.

For the life of me I fail to see the treason, treachery and corruption of people who fight and die with such stupendous heroism for the cause of human liberty and against tyranny and despotism.

How do they "foster fascism"? Why our critic's supercilious scorn? One may disagree and criticize. But where does one get the divine authority as if he were delivering the holy Torah from Mount Sinai in thunder and lightning?

Is he sure that he would have written a perfect platform had he been in Spain and had the vast experience our noble comrades had to live through? No latitude, no lee-way, no benefit of doubt, not one iota of consideration or comradely feeling. None whatever.

### Contradictions and Incongruities

Free, complete, perfect freedom of the individual.

Cells, units, groups, federalization. Very well. But then he forgets himself and heaps abuse upon the poor heads of the F. A. I. for not forming one single body with the syndicalists. Why one body? Have we not always insisted upon autonomous organizations performing different, distinct and separate tasks and functions?

Hands off! No political labels on trade unions and syndicates. It has always been most baneful and deleterious.

Keep the labor organizations away from political, parliamentary action. Don't bind their hands and brains with theories and utopias. Let them take care of the program minimum. Direct action, strikes, picketing, boycotts, economic, industrial organizations, in affiliation with revolutionary socialism or anarchism, on separate, autonomous and federal lines. What more can one want?

But friend Ramus, who has never been to Spain, knows it all, has the sole monopoly of truth as well as the whole theory and practice of anarchist-communism in his pocket. He knows the illiterate, ignorant peasant, the semi-industrialized proletariat, their mode of life, their habits and traditions, their character and temperament. And knows them better than the million and a half Spanish anarchists and syndicalists themselves.

Throwing modesty and moderation to the winds, he dips his arrows in the most venomous poison and lets go right and left most unmercifully.

They should have done this and that; should not have done thus and so. No defense, no combinations with unions or parties. Why have they not made a 100% anarchist revolution, those traitors to our great cause?

"The revolution of July has been frustrated in all its aspects because the F. A. I. didn't know, when it had the material possibility to do it, how to carry through the anarchist revolution." They didn't know, those damned old fools, and they didn't even have sense enough to ask the only one that knew.

History hasn't stopped making a laughing stock of Marx and Engels, who tried to direct the Paris Commune from London. What shall we say about Ramus?

### Partial Recognition of Their Error

At long last! Ramus admits something. They did rectify their evil ways a wee bit at the end of their platform. They say that groups will be created in the centers of production, etc. (And I had been thinking, he never will find one single redeeming feature in the whole program!)

Also: "In an appendix it is at last stated," admits our nihilistic and totally devastating critic, that "in consideration of the links of a very close ideological affinity between the F. A. I. with the Confederation of Labor and the Libertarian Youth Federation, it binds its relations more closely, with them, through mutual delegations . . ."

Still Ramus is not yet mollified; not he. In conclusion (of a terrific tirade of over 7 columns) he calls upon all true anarchists to protest against this violation of our principles, to combat internationally the dark factors that have gained the upper hand over the anarchist movement in Spain, thereby also rescuing the F.A.I. itself from a horrible nightmare of moral and physical suicide. . . .

He wouldn't even give them credit for having applied the theory of anarchism, to some extent, in real life for the first time in human history, and at a time when the most appalling war of extermination has been raging all over their beloved land.

If treason has been committed by anyone, it was not by the Spanish comrades against us and our cause, but by us and the entire labor and liberal world against them in the most crucial period in their history.

Michael A. Cohn

### "Ersatz Anarchists"

My friend Havel's article in your last issue runs true to form. When unable to find arguments try abuse, which reminds me. Several years ago some of the comrades living at Stelton and working in New York at the garment trade grew tired of spending from three and a half to four hours daily travelling to and from work at an expense of \$16.00 to \$18.00 monthly decided to start a Cooperative—yes Cooperative—dress shop at Stelton and Havel denounced them and myself publicly for wanting to start a sweat shop in the colony. All the comrades wanted to do was abolish the boss but to Havel it was a sweat shop. Does this sound exaggerated? Write to Stelton for information. It is not only possible but probable that intelligent arguments can be offered against calling oneself Libertarian Socialist instead of Anarchist or Anarchist-Communist but I doubt if Havel is the person to do it.

The conference at Mohegan was attended by fifty or sixty comrades of seven different nationalities and probably not one of them had been in the movement less than ten and some as long as forty-five years. I was not present at the session when the change of name was agreed on but feel sure not a single one of those who favored the change had less courage or felt more ashamed of the word anarchism than Havel. They felt if I understood them correctly that spreading the ideas of freedom was vastly more important than their per-

(Continued on Page 8)

# ART and LITERATURE

## "BETTER THAN NOTHING"

You are millions!

Since the day when your body could hardly stand the physical strain of labor, you have been toiling painfully, beastly, killingly. You have drudged from slow days to dragging weeks, from lengthy months to interminable years.

The fruits of your toil are fabulous.

You have dug deep into the immense heart of old Mother Earth, and innumerable varieties of edibles have sprung out to satisfy man's needs. You have gone fathoms deeper and have brought to the surface the minerals which have given to man the power of millions of horses. And you have brought to the surface the metals which have been melted and molded into fast roaring trains, majestic gleaming vessels, darting frightful planes and which have been boiled into ever-stretching sky-scrapers.

The surface of the earth was bare. You have painted it with fertile beautiful fields, and you have smeared it with black monstrous metropolises.

The riches of the world are inexhaustible! You have produced them. But you are poor; you are miserable.

Yet, you will not starve. It has been heralded by presidential and congressional decree that: your compensation shall be the royal sum of twenty-five cents per hour of toil.

What sayest thou?

—"Better than nothing"!

"Better than nothing"!

The riches of the world are incalculable. They are being squandered by a handful of high-hatted thieves. What a silk-gloved robber throws in a night of orgies and dissipation would provide milk and bread for thousands of your undernourished children.



Original Drawing by M. L.

Twenty-five cents per hour!  
Twelve dollars per week!  
You are hungry; you are ragged; you are cold.  
You need food, clothes, shelter.  
But you have twelve dollars! Twenty-five cents per hour. What can you get? Almost nothing.  
What sayest thou?  
"Better than nothing"!

You are millions!

Your arms are still strong, and you are anxious and willing to use them. You want to work. It is a vital necessity for you. You have been taught that labor ennobles man and now that you need it, you are told that there is none for you.

Yet, you will not starve. The alert eye of charity will see to that. And you will know humiliation. You will swallow an occasional tear of bitterness.

You stand in line for crumbs while huge quantities of commodities are being destroyed; you budget your fading family larder while the financial papers are reporting the largest dividends in many years.

How ironical and tragic! How true!

And yet . . .

"Better than nothing"!

You are millions!

You are strong. You are the artificers of all riches, and you are the pillars of civilization. The earth is rightfully yours.

Yet, you have stooped low for centuries, from generation to generation, in a suicidal attitude of resignation—because you have feared, because you fear the apparent strength of the usurper, because you do not trust yourselves.

Humiliated herd, stand up! The earth is yours!

Slaves, trust in yourselves. Claim, protest, rebel!

WALTER BROOKS

## Our Poets Greet the New Year in Songs of Rebellion

### For This Generation

If I possessed all words which I do not  
I still could never write the septic page  
Of these sick years,  
Nor could I, one man, tell of fetid death  
Below the garbage heap of ignorance;  
Nor lay my acid tongue against the tower  
Of ivory and burn it down and bury it in spit.

These things I cannot do, although my hands  
Are racked in pain of such futility.  
My raw lips bleed;  
My ears are deafened by the horrid sound  
Of wisdom shouting in an empty room;  
While close around me is the charnel reek  
Of beauty and of truth in all their pestilent decay.

God! God? But no god answers and the priests  
Go lying foully down the stricken ways,  
While prophets stretch their cancered mouths to cry;  
"All this is nothing—nothing!"  
And I beat on my forehead with my fists  
Because I cannot tell you what it is,  
Although my very soul is green and crawling  
with its slime.

GILEAN DOUGLAS

### Ad Hominem

Wherefore shall a man now bare his head  
And kneel in silent awe to pale Opinion,  
That leper clad in lying silks,  
Who by unreasoning Faith is fed,  
But to proclaim himself a slave—a minion  
Enthralled by the ashes of the Dead?  
Why mutter to himself, "It is not right,"  
Then turn and shrug the shoulders, saying:  
"Let another do it—I cannot lead the fight  
To give strong eyes to the blinded multitude;  
Myriad the Powers that conspire against their sight  
—And what avails one man against that vampire  
brood?"

Mark how the strength of Nature's law  
Still the stronger Truth can frame:  
From a single spark, fallen  
On the dry and waiting tinder,  
Mounts the all-consuming flame;  
From a single seed, buried  
In the warm and pregnant earth,  
Springs many a green-leaved branch;  
From a single stone, dislodged  
On the rugged mountain-side,  
Thunders the mighty avalanche.

CLIFTON BENNETT

### Chains

The site of the shop and the men  
From gutter slums, pallid like every moon,  
Preoccupied, bearing presence of mean  
Bosses, lined up man after man.

Eight in the morning to five at night  
Glued to the stinking floor like known  
Anguish immuring these lives with nought,  
From eight in the morning to five at night.

Bodies' strength sapped by the day,  
By twilight home to the same door;

Everything is a gnawed look; what is dear  
Is buying the air to breathe and unliving, die.

Sounds of wheels in the head;  
In dreams, stations of our exhausted horde;  
Minds ravelled by worries and hid  
Like life's light; only nervous heed.

Neither babies nor the children live;  
Sickness and debt never leave;  
Figures of fears and economic love;  
Through hours of days and nights, dead alive.

VINCENT FERRINI

### Particular

Two voices blare from twenty speakers, down  
The human-mottled sidewalks of one block;  
And so it is throughout the sprawling town  
And towns and cities, as the shock  
Of hickory on horsehide is repeated,  
Magnified to infinitude, throughout the world  
Which knows the series as its own; and seated  
Proudly in the arena, thither hurled  
By universal mania now there sit  
Some forty-seven thousand, to a man  
Rising to cheer a pitch, a catch, a hit—  
Millions surrendering identity the span  
Of these two hours, masses unified  
In Bedlam of Nirvana—mass and noise,  
Triumphant incoherence . . . With some pride  
The waitress says, "There's one of our boys,  
Augie Galan, that's playing there today—  
His people run the laundry down the street."  
Impersonality is swept away—  
One local youngster compassed its defeat.

GEORGE HEDLEY

### Out Moted

Like an ox in modern traffic  
Or a sword in modern fray  
Or a scythe in modern harvest  
Is our scheme of buy and pay  
Own and mortgage, trade and barter  
Get and corner, hire and loan  
Taking interest, rent and profit  
While our brothers sigh and moan.

Workers idle, robots taking  
Jobs from living, mortal men.  
So our barns burst out with plenty  
Goods that mean but mere refuse.  
Dead machines, they eat not, wear not,  
They produce but never use.  
This sad scheme is dead and done with,  
Useless 'tis to patch and mend.  
Junk the system, spread the bounty  
Bring this folly to an end  
Let resources fill their purpose  
Ministering to needy men.

ERNIE CROOK

### The Day Before Tomorrow

We all should keep our heads erect, brave comrades of  
the Fight—  
The bloody world of woe needs most true Liberty  
and light!  
Our brothers everywhere in chains, forged by the

Demon Law,  
For murderers run Governments while millions  
slink in awe.

But we who have the Knowledge find our duty calls  
to Teach;  
We flash the hope of Freedom where our counsel  
best can reach.  
We have the plan for better days, let fear not halt  
our tread,  
Tho' tasks lead to a prison—or be counted with the  
"dead".

Look, comrades, at the olden world where blood flows  
thick and red,  
Result of mad-men rulers and the Governments they  
head.  
For Peace to such is time to arm, ambition leads to war  
Where millions die as "enemies"—yet do not know  
what for.

O comrades, keep the heads erect, dictators have  
their day,  
And rule with gun and guillotine—yet both shall  
pass away.  
It's Hitler now, and Stalin, "Il Duce" and Franco  
Beast  
Whose very graves we'll trample as the sun lights up  
the East.

The crack of Stalin's rifles seals the doom of  
tyrant-law,  
And Mussolini's daggers rouse the masses from their  
awe.  
Mad-Hitler's swinging axe has taught the people  
to be wise—  
Thus governments built up on Fear but bid the  
Masses rise.

O could these read the warning of ALL history—  
of crime—  
That governments shall tumble in their makers'  
blood and slime.  
Will perish in the flames of strife that they,  
unknowing, fan,  
For brutes who lust for Power and must kill the  
Human Man

O comrades, keep the heads erect, dictators rule today,  
The law is gun and guillotine—yet both shall pass away.

HAROLD ROLAND JOHNSON

### Negroes

In removed sections, quagmire shacks  
Furnished in burdens of the chain;  
Divided from the white world;  
Outcast flesh of negro pain.

Dark as night and unawakened;  
A race bought and sold wherever they band;  
The present past inherited  
Oppression in this land.

Prohibited from living in the north,  
Still choked in slavery and lynched in the south  
And against this suppressing lot,  
Light in black eyes, words in the mouth.

VINCENT FERRINI

# GAMBLING, SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

Thirty dollars every Thursday! W.P.A. jobs around election time. America, once the home of freedom loving pioneers who conquered a wilderness has now become the country of the outstretched hand. Jefferson spoke truly when he said:

*"When we must wait for Washington to tell us when to sow and when to reap, we shall soon want bread."*

As long as it seems easy to get something for nothing why should people work, organize, think, study, or look forward to an ideal society? The dirtiest beggar will argue for an opportunity to wager his nickel in the hope of making a dollar. He will uphold the economic system which keeps him a ragged slave; he will defend the wealthy speculator with the expression, "I wish I had his dough."

Gambling is supposed to be the most degraded and unpopular form of getting something for nothing. The police in nearly every large city protect these gamblers, for the police and their employers, the politicians, are linked with the large floating vote which the gamblers can mobilize in order to swing an election. Thieves who make large hauls find a hideout among gamblers, and if they lose money there another bank or postoffice can always be found to rob.

Many churches hold carnivals, bingo and card parties where wheels of fortune and other gambling devices increase the income for the church. Many so-called charity organizations hold raffles for a "good cause." Many radical groups likewise engage in a light form of gambling where the holder of the lucky ticket receives the prize; not because he is a loyal comrade; not because he needs the money more than another, but because he holds the right number. We laugh at the negro who spends his time a victim of the policy racket, but we use the same principle to further our good cause.

We abhor Nero for fiddling while Rome burned. How many of us, knowing that the world is on fire, waste our time in winning or losing a few dollars in gambling? Instead of facing our problems we evade them. We cannot build other than a chaotic society when

we spend our time in the something for nothing diversion known as gambling.

The movies with their "bank-nite," the buying and selling in the stock market which is the same idea of something for nothing. The A.A.A. still gambles in the numbers of pigs to be drowned or the number of acres of cotton to be plowed under.

Those who are frankly selfish and unidealistic in thought cannot be blamed for practicing this something for nothing policy in a respectable or more respectable manner. Idealists and radicals are supposed to plan a new society based on freedom and justice. Why then should they use the same technique of gambling and something for nothing as their opponents? Many radicals, however, are frustrated capitalists; if they had the wealth they would soon lose their radicalism. It might seem much more exciting to stake the future of an organization on an ill-advised strike, an election campaign of compromise that is bound to fail miserably, or an abortive revolution. This is the gambling instinct of a great gain with little effort. It is much more difficult to day by day build up a small organization based on honesty, responsibility, and good hard work. There are many "get-rich-quick Utopias" and there are many people whose philosophy of any means to ward an end defeats the very end they have in view.

Just how does this discussion apply to the Anarchist? The realistic Libertarian knows that the world is facing the second World War. The whole capitalistic

world is based on speculation—on the something for nothing principles and a war in which land and resources can be grabbed from a weaker nation is the logical outcome of capitalism. Mussolini in Africa and Spain has shown how he will gamble with the lives of his people and the risk of starting a World War in order to gain territory and prestige.

Does the thinking Libertarian look to a Townsend, Coughlin, Roosevelt, or a Father Divine, or in fact to any politician to lead him to better conditions? No! He knows that the peace and freedom for which he is seeking must first lie in his own consciousness and character. When we are willing to work for what, we get; when we are not jealous of the amount which our brother may receive; when we hold to the old time formula of "from each according to his ability, to each according to need"; when our ideal is simplicity; then we will know how to live together in peace; in a voluntary cooperation where there is no need for gambling.

Meanwhile the politicians continue to promise the impossible and to hand out appropriations. They are preparing the way for a dictator who will be the super-giver and who will by this bait prepare the way for a worse slavery than we have heretofore known. A free man will never be a tyrant, but a slave raised to power will be the worst of all tyrants. A something for nothing psychology prepares the way for slavery and tyranny.

Ammon A. Hennacy

## Of Invaders and Defenders

When the honorable members of Congress feel the need for a diversion from their hard mental labours "in behalf of their faithful constituents," they find relaxation in the appointment of an investigation committee of some kind. The procedure is invariably the same: the country abounds with crusaders of all kinds; our Congressmen pick out the rabid whims of one particular brand of them, make these whims their own and forthwith decree that an investigation committee be appointed and a liberal sum of money (the figure usually running up to tens of thousands of dollars) assigned to it. Some of the most disgruntled members of the "House" are appointed to the committee. Investigators, stenographers and clerks are engaged, and the fun begins.

In the majority of cases, the targets of these patriotic investigations have been radical and liberal organizations of varied hues. The most infamous of these committees was—we believe—the Lusk Committee appointed by the New York legislature in the immediate post-war period. The most ridiculous and most abusive is proving to be the too much advertised existing Dies Committee. This committee was appointed to investigate "unAmerican activities" in this country. Naturally, even the curb stones know that the committee's scope is to stir up prejudice and reaction against everything and everybody, in any way and to any extent, interested in the emancipation of the workers.

It's an old story. What we set out to bring forth is the fact that the attacked parties, in a way, contribute

to strengthen the apparent legality of this committee of paltry invaders by implicitly recognizing its right—its insolence, we would say—to inquire into their personal beliefs and impugn their right to entertain whatever creed they care to choose.

We have particularly in mind the refutations of a group of prominent Californians who were accused of being "Communists," an accusation launched against them by the Dies Committee through the concocted testimony of a professional patriot coming from the ranks of the ultra reactionary American Legion. It is shocking that prominent and cultured people like Professors Max Radin, A. M. Kidd, John L. Kirchen, Ralph Chaney, A. W. Cloud, H. M. Chevalier and writers John Steinbeck and Colonel C. E. Scott Wood in the face of such raw insolence should confine themselves to a mere almost apologetic denial of not being "Communists." It seems to us that such an invasion of one's right to his convictions—whatever they may be—calls for more energetic and virile reactions.

We hold no brief for the Communists, nor do we have any respect for them. However, we believe that it behooves people as articulate as those mentioned above to first vindicate their right and everyone's right to be a Communist and then deny being one if such is the case. Only in this fashion can the cause of freedom be furthered—by telling the drawing bully "gentleman" from Texas and his ilk to go to hell before they dare to invade the most sacred right of the individual; the right to think freely.

W. B.

## Correspondence and Discussion

(Continued from page 5)

sonalities or even a name that happens to be one hundred years old. Perhaps they were wrong but calling names doesn't prove it.

An honest and, I hope, intelligent appraisal of our movement for the past thirty or forty years suggests the following: The failure of the masses of all countries to accept our ideas and help us spread them is due either to our methods of presenting them, or they are too far in advance of mankind to be understood or related to the life of the individual especially as applied to the daily economic struggle. To deny this is to deny the obvious for the masses have not responded to our teaching. Those participating in the conference at Mohegan believed the trouble lies in our method of presentation and felt there was nothing cowardly, shameful or inconsistent in adopting the name libertarian socialist instead of anarchist or anarchist-communist. That is all there is to it and those who object to the name do not have to use it but abuse doesn't get us anywhere—or does it? Knowing Havel for forty years. I can testify if need be that facing facts is not his strong point but for the sake of the record let it be said that anarchism has been advocated for more than a hundred years and in spite of the martyrdom of the Chicago comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti and others less well known we have failed to make even a dent in the mind of the American people. Perhaps they are stupid but if they lack grey matter or imagination our task is hopeless and we are only inflating our own ego with our airs of superiority. A favorite expression of Havel is "anarchists are born." That does not and never did suit me and I have felt and feel strongly that the failure of the masses to accept our ideas lies with us and it seems to me time to revalue our methods of propaganda in the hope that our ideas may be more widely accepted. Is there anything wrong with that?

Harry Kelly

## An Appeal For A Song Book

Dear Mr. Graham:

Mr. Roy R. Lawrence, Southern director of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, has asked me to compile and edit a song book which the TWOC will publish for Southern workers. This is being done in answer to repeated requests for songs.

Union groups are realizing the need for songs in their meetings and on picket lines to enliven them, and bring them more solidly together.

In many locals, members have written new words for familiar tunes. It is Mr. Lawrence's feeling that these songs should be published in order that other locals may benefit from them.

I should like to appeal to all workers through your paper to send me at once whatever songs they have written, or know about and would like to have included in a workers' song book.

Sincerely yours,

ZILPHIA HORTON

Highlander Folk School  
Monteagle, Tennessee

## Honesty and Consistency in the Ferrero Case

This is really a cockeyed world. One branch of the Government, headed by President Roosevelt, is taking leadership in the humane movement to salvage refugees from the terror abroad. And at the same time another branch of the Government, centered in the Labor Department, is bringing actions to deport United States residents to the same chopping block whence they fled.

There are hundreds of such cases, but I shall refer to only one. That of Vincent Ferrero, who has lived in the United States over thirty years and had no criminal record. He had a small restaurant in Oakland, Cal., and rented out an upper floor to the editor of a tiny Anarchist monthly called "Man."

This was his only "crime." He was ordered deported to Italy, where as an anti-Fascist he would surely land in jail. A writ staved off his deportation, but now Ferrero has been ordered to present himself again before the immigration authorities.

It seems to me that all interested in keeping America a haven for the oppressed should write to Commissioner Houghteling of the Department of Labor, asking that the case against Ferrero be dropped. True, the department is willing that Ferrero depart for a "country of his choice." But this is a bluff, for the Italian Consul will not issue a passport for any other country save Italy, and there Ferrero would surely land in prison.

In all honesty and all consistency, let's keep our doors open to the oppressed of the world, and at the same time let us not, once they are here, boot them back across the "welcome" sign.

—Ernest L. Meyer in the N. Y. POST.

## Youth Group, Brooklyn, N. Y.

On Wednesday, January 11, 1939, at 8:30 p.m. we will have a lecture at the Galilee Club, 118 Cook Street.

On Saturday, Feb. 18, 1939, at 8:00 p.m. we will hold a Barn Dance at the same address. There will be games, prizes and music by our favorite band. The proceeds will be used to buy literature for our propaganda.

Every reader of this journal is invited.

## On Violence and Crime

I, for one, have never believed in violence, force or any other cruelty. I hate pain and suffering for others as well as for myself. I had long been a non-resistant at heart, and had preached it as far as I could, but had learned that in the forces of life, clash and conflict were inevitable. My sympathy and experience had placed me on the side of those who had the hard tasks and the ill-conditions of life. Personally, I would go to any extent possible to prevent violence and disorder, but, when it comes about, then I was for and with my side; for I sensed and learned the motives that moved men, and I believed that in the long sweep of time they were fighting for the amelioration and welfare of mankind. I knew that these endless conflicts had always been fought with grief and distress, but Nature seems to provide no other way.

Crimes such as larceny, burglary and robbery are more numerous in hard times than in good seasons. They increase during strikes and lockouts. They flourish in panics and with closed shops and factories. They are more frequent in winter than in summer. They would well-nigh disappear if conditions of life came anywhere near being equitable and fair and decent.

—CLARENCE DARROW.

## Financial Statement

INCOME GROUPS: Gruppo Libertario (Share of Affair) —\$5.00; Circolo Libertaria, R. I. —\$5.00; "Nueva Era"

Group, Pa. —\$3.00.

INDIVIDUALS: Leo Moio —\$5.00; H. Razanowich —\$4.00; E. Michaels, newspaper sale, London, Eng., —\$2.45; Paul Miller —\$2.00; Celia Goldberg, newspaper sale —\$1.25. ONE DOLLAR: J. Brahm, F. Wertgen, Jules Scarceriaux, F. Berzoz, Newspaper sale, L. A. —.80.

|                 |          |
|-----------------|----------|
| TOTAL           | \$ 32.75 |
| Balance on hand | 78.55    |
| TOTAL           | \$111.30 |
| Expenditures    | 105.74   |
| Balance on Hand | \$ 5.56  |